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312 tion ditches because the sand in which they are built is so light that they easily break.

The main ditches are perhaps two to three feet deep; the others are quite shallow. The ditch system is not complex because most fields that are irrigated lie directly under the main ditches; others are fed by a few laterals. Maintenance of the dams and ditches is not a community affair, but devolves on those whose fields are supplied by the particular dam or ditch. They are dilapidated most of the time, being repaired only as needed. This is to be expected because the material is so light as to wash out easily and it would be futile to keep them up when not in use. There is no set regulation for the use of the water. The supply is large, the need is small, and apparently there is little friction over [578] rights to its use. Yet quarrels have arisen from this source.

241 Planting is a family occupation, even the children helping to dig holes. Garcés says:—

592 I had much complacency to see that as soon it was dawn each married man with his wife and grown sons went forth to till his milpas, taking the necessary implements, as hatchets, dibbles (coas), and hoes, all of which they procure from Moqui.[1]

As a rule each family plants as much corn as possible. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, the year-round food. Corn (*teyă'dj*) is not planted 243 deep; 5 to 7.5 cm. being usual. Straight lines for the rows of hills may be drawn with the foot; their orientation is immaterial. Kneeling, the [412] first hole is scratched with the planting stick (*hwdlid*) in the manner of a canoe man wielding his paddle. This is a buckthorn branch (*Condalia lycioides* var. *Canescens* (Gray) Trel.), 2 cm. in diameter, 65 cm. long, with one end cut wedge-shaped.[2] The soil is loosened to a depth of 20 cm. and eight or ten kernels dropped in. Before putting the corn in the first hole, the planter prays:—

[539]	mĕdjpák	teyădjmehána	owi
	growing	corn good	I do it.

"Grow good: when your stalk grows, grow tall: grow like the mythic corn." Then he drops the kernels into the hole and chewing another, blows it toward the mythic corn, two white marks high on the canyon wall. These represent the two original ears given by the twin culture heroes.[3] Filling the first hole, he takes two short steps forward, kneels, and digs a second, and so on. The second row parallels this

[114] [1]Coues, 345. A later statement (435), that tribes upstream from the Mohave lack crops, must be taken to mean that the Walapai and Havasupai had less than the Mohave.
[2]Cushing, (a), 550, notes the use of a planting stick provided with a footrest, but my informants denied this.
[171] [3]The Zuñi also pray at the first planting [Cushing, (d), 178–179].

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SOCIAL RELATIONS

Family Groups

The basis of Havasupai life is the family as we know it. There are no clans nor gentes, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. There is nothing even resembling the Mohave custom of group names for patrilineally related women. The individual recognizes cohesion only to his immediate relatives; there are no other definite social or ceremonial groups.

The family is a socio-economic group comprising parents, children, and unattached relatives of close degree. At the same time the family forms part of a larger group, that is, the husband's or wife's parents' families with whom they live. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated with land inheritance on the one hand, and with temporary matrilocal residence on the other. That is, we find groups of relatives working together and living near each other, but within which each married couple and their progeny are regarded as a distinct unit.

Present-day observations on family life suffer from an anomalous condition, a shortage of marriageable women. Many families lack women competent to manage household affairs, so that men and children are forced to depend on some female relative. This has intensified the larger family groupings, so that a number of related families have centered, as it were, around the hearth of their woman cook. The following table shows the distribution of population. The ages are approximations adapted from the agency records; they are fairly accurate up to twenty-five years. I have not attempted to round off the five year periods.

The total population is 177, with an excess of 19 males. As near as I can place the excess it lies between the ages of twenty and forty-five where there are twice as many men as women. Below and above these limits the numbers are equal. I gather that this deficiency in women developed during the last two decades. In fact, Coues found approximately normal conditions in 1881, 60 men and 53 women.[1] On its face the phenomenon is recent; otherwise, whatever the cause loss in childbirth suggests itself—there would be a deficiency of older women as well.[2]

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[1] Coues, 345.

[2] Old women are more numerous than old men, but the numbers are too small to determine whether there is really a shortage of older women. Hrdlička found on the basis of the Twelfth Census (1900) that there was an excess of females over males after the fifty-fifth year, among all Indians, and after the seventy-fifth year, among native whites of native parents [(I), 39 41]. The Havasupai sex ratio is 124.0 males to 100 females; in 1905 it was 145, in 1905, 151. The Thirteenth Census (1910) gives abnormally high sex ratio in favor of the males for all the Colorado River tribes

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COMPOSITION OF POPULATION, NOVEMBER 1, 1919

Age	Males	Females	Age	Males	Females
1	5	5	35	1	2
2	4	1	36	..	1
3	6	2	38	1	..
4	..	1	39	8	2
5	2	2	41	..	1
6	..	1	43	1	1
7	6	7	44	6	1
8	2	2	45	1	..
9	3	2	47	1	..
10	2	2			
11	..	3	48	1	..
12	1	1	49	1	4
13	1	2	50	..	1
14	..	3	53	..	1
15	2	1	54	2	1
16	2	1	55	1	2
17	2	..	59	2	1
19	..	2	64	1	..
20	1	1	67	1	..
21	3	..	69	3	3
22	1	1	70	..	1
23	1	1	71	2	..
24	..	1	74	1	..
25	2	..	75	..	1
26	..	1	79	1	3
27	4	2	83	1	1
28	1	..	85	..	1
29	4	..	90	..	1
30	2	..	92	1	..
32	1	1	94	..	1
34	3	3	Totals	98	79

There are forty-two camps, or family units, in the village, which would give an average of 4.2 persons to the family, or adding nineteen women to allow for the shortage, 4.7 persons. It is difficult to estimate the number of families exactly,[1] because their composition is constantly changing, particularly by way of merging into larger family groups. At any rate these figures agree fairly well with the size of our own family, and with those of the Pueblos with an average of barely five, excepting Zuñi, where there are 7.5 per family.[2]

[1] In 1776 Garcés estimated that the number did not exceed thirty-four (Coues, 348).
[2] Kroeber, (j), 133–134.

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The family with which I lived in 1918 is typical. It consisted of Tokaoridja, aged seventy-five, her daughter Susie, fifty-five, both widows of long standing, and her two sons, Mark and Henry. Mark is a widower of thirty-four; Henry is thirty, his wife Nina is twenty-three, and his two sons are seven and three. They live in two houses standing side by side: Tokaoridja, Susie, and Mark in one, Henry's family in the other. Both the mother and daughter cook in their own half open house, and eat there with the two men and the boys. Nina sometimes joins them, but light hurting her failing eyes, she usually remains within her own brush house. To make the picture complete, there must be added the continual stream of visitors, mostly unattached men, relatives and otherwise, who share the ever ready meal. All five adults labor in their fields, which are their joint property, although more emphatically Mark's and Henry's. Nina also planted in a field allotted her by her father's elder brother for the sustenance of her two boys. The men give more attention to irrigation and their horses, and now that alfalfa is grown, to those fields too; the women have more concern in caring for the harvest.

592 [123] [574]

Groups of closely related families living and working together form still larger informal units. A typical case is the group of which Manakadja is the head. With him live his wife and two adult unmarried sons. The adjacent house belongs to his oldest son, Jasper, his wife and two daughters, the next house to his youngest daughter, Esther, her husband and infant. A short distance opposite, sufficiently far to be something of a separate camp, is the house of his oldest daughter Teθek'idje, her husband and six children. All the women cook together in the open space about which the houses are grouped, although Teθek'idje's family leads rather a separate existence and Jasper's also does to some extent. All of them work their fields in common, or rather Manakadja's, whose inherited holdings are extensive. Esther's husband has some interest in his father's fields, and Teθek'idje's husband may own some land.

Watahomidja's family group comprises his wife, her aged Walapai stepmother, his oldest son and wife, his second son with his wife and two infants, and his third unmarried son. All these occupy one house and eat together. In 1918 his daughter, Callie, her husband and three children lived in an adjacent house, with the husband's aged mother living in a shelter alongside. This family led a somewhat independent existence, and in 1919 broke with them to live some distance off. This year Watahomidja was joined by his daughter's orphaned boy.

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592 Rock Jones shares a house with his wife and his eldest son, a widower with two girls. A nearby structure houses his second son with a wife and three daughters, together with Watahomidja's youngest son, Claude, who in 1919 became the husband of the oldest daughter. In 1918 Rock Jones's youngest son lived close by with his wife, Kitty, and three children, but the following year this family spent most of their time with the wife's family in order to support them when her father Bert went blind.

Bert's family consists of his wife and her illegitimate son, his oldest son and his new wife, and his three young daughters. These together form an economic group. In 1919 it also included Kitty's family. Not far away lives Bert's younger brother, Richard. With him are a wife and three children, and his mother occupies an adjacent hut.

Captain Burro and his wife were rejoined by their son, his two half-grown sons and their stepmother, Lilly, in 1919. All these share a common existence. In 1919 Lilly's father, having lost a son, came to live nearby with his wife and two young daughters, but they maintain an entirely distinct establishment.

Sinyella's group centers around his stepdaughter, Djerdwaimo. With him in his own house are his adult sons, Lanoman, a widower, Melvin, and Louis (see the genealogical chart, p. 392). His second son, Dean, lives in a nearby house with four of his children. A nearer house shelters his stepdaughter, Djerdwaimo, her husband, Tcikapaniga, her daughter Helen, and Dean's infant son whom she is raising. For a brief period Helen lived elsewhere with her husband until he died, then she returned to her father's home. In 1919 Jess brought his family, consisting of wife and two children to live alongside his father, Tcikapaniga. The hearth around which the whole group centers is Djerdwaimo's; she is assisted in her culinary preparations by her daughter-in-law, while Sinyella and his sons often prepare their own meals. On occasion his granddaughter Katie will come to cook for him, in which event she brings her husband and children. When all the families eat from the common pot they contribute their share of its contents. Sinyella, his sons, and Dean's children form an economic unit in which his younger brother's son West, whose family lives elsewhere, is included. All work together in their undivided fields, which Sinyella and his deceased younger brother inherited from their father. The harvest is stored in their common storage houses. Tcikapaniga plants his fields with the aid of his wife, daughter, son, and daughter-in-law: his son Jess also owns a plot of land. These together also form an economic unit.

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The structure of these larger family groups is transparent; a group of sons reside in houses adjacent to their parents' home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. They share a common livelihood: father and sons work their undivided fields with their wives' assistance; the new son-in-law works with his wife's father until he breaks off to return to his boyhood home. A common residence and livelihood makes for a common hearth, constant association, and the feeling that such relatives form one big family. Undoubtedly the shortage of active women has intensified the situation, but I doubt that it has created a new condition.[1]

Unattached relatives, widowers and widows (*alatá*, also an infrequent word for spoiled, awry), are found in the households of their nearest blood relatives. Orphans (*hámanálatá*, boy; *mésálatá*, girl; terms not applied to half orphans) are raised by the relatives of either parent, preferably by a parent's sibling, without prejudice to the interests in the child of the relatives on the other side of the house. Thus, Edgar has lived for several years with Watahomidja, his maternal grandfather, at the same time receiving the gifts of his father's mother and brother.

There is also a tendency toward the formation of still larger groups. This first came to my notice at the dance in 1918, where it was apparent that those from the south end of the village were seated in one group, those from the north end in a second, and families from the central portion formed a third. The division was not absolute, but it was sufficiently marked to be noticeable. The reason for the grouping will appear in the sequel (227, 231), whence it seems that these divisions are the result of relationship and land inheritance, marriage among neighbors, and neighborly interest and cohesion.

Kinship

The individual is oriented among his tribesmen by his relationships. His family is for him a group of kinsmen; beyond them are more distant relatives and in the outer circle the unrelated members of the tribe.

To the question who are kinsmen the answer comes patly enough, blood relatives, but blood relatives are always a group defined by arbitrary limits. This must be particularly true of the Havasupai. Presumably the group never rose in numbers much over 250. I gather that during the last century and a half there were comparatively few intermarriages with foreign tribes, even with the Walapai. Under these conditions everyone must bear innumerable and comparatively close relationships

[1] I have shown elsewhere (*A Suggested Origin for Gentile Organization*) how a sib system might easily arise from the Havasupai situation.

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It is also clear that within the kin group collateral lines are merged with the direct line of descent, relatives being equated in the parents' generation. Relatives more than three generations distant are designated by grandparent and grandchild terms. Finally there is little recognition of relatives by marriage. 601 602

I have failed after persistent inquiries to find any trace of special social relations or obligations between those in any two categories, other than the universal relation between parents and children and those between camp mates.[1]

Foreign Indians are sometimes adopted informally as *súldjîgd*, a man's older brother's son, or *djîkdvîgd*, a man's male cross-cousin, in preference to other relationships. Children of relatives are adopted, but do not assume new relationships. There are no friendship adoptions as at Zuñi, and no ceremonies of adoption. 597 [648]

Marriage

Marriage was normally monogamous, although there were some polygamous unions. One may not marry a blood relative. Should a couple innocently marry and someone later discover that they are related by blood, they would feel ashamed. They would not separate, but people would always condemn their union. There is no notion that monsters spring from such marriages. So much for theory. Crook had lived with Callie for about a month when the old people said that they were related, so they separated. Both have since re-married. From the chart showing the inheritance of chieftainship (p. 242) it appears that Crook's father and Callie's paternal grandmother are cross-cousins. They may be more closely connected through their mothers. My informants were aware that blood relationships are forgotten after a very few generations, and that most, if not all intratribal marriages ignored some remote and unknown degree of relationship. By checking over the agency census with Jess I find that the females, including children, he could not marry were invariably blood relatives, numbering forty-two. Mark said he could not marry thirty-eight women, four of whom were not related to him in any way and five where the recognized bond was one of affinity. For example, he said he could not marry Nina, his younger brother's wife. It turned out, however, that he would not marry one of these women, another was "too fat," and so on. I found no other hint of 588 [595] [588] [684]

[1] Specifically, there is no special relation with the maternal grandfather, as implied, e.g., in some Plateau-Basin tales. Incidentally it may be noted that in cases of matrilocal residence the maternal grandfather of the children born to a couple is the head of the family group. [592]

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ing additional fields. Proprietary rights in land depend most emphatically on use, for unless it is generally understood that a patch has not been finally abandoned, someone does not fail to occupy it if it is at all cultivable. 311 423

The cultivated land forms a continuous strip through the canyon of corn and alfalfa fields, pastures, orchards, and groves. Boundaries are definite and marked by fences, lines of trees, or ditches. Fencing may be an old custom as Cushing saw wooden fences in use in 1881.[1]

Title to land is in the hands of the men, although because of its utilization title might better be characterized as joint ownership by the family, the economic unit that works it. Women rarely have independent control of land; those who have are invariably widows without other means of support. For instance, a Walapai widow who lives with her Havasupai stepdaughter has taken an unattractive patch for her own. When a woman marries she transfers her planting activities from her own family fields to those of her husband. Children are never land owners, although they may help their elders to plant. There is not even nominal ownership in order to distribute the hazard of bad luck such as occurs among the White Mountain Apache. If parents have sufficient land, they allow their adult children to plant in the surplus. Thus, Teikapaniga and his wife let their children, Jess (and his wife) and Helen, use half their land. Since Helen married she assists her husband in planting his fields. 423 [592] [589]

Land is inherited in the male line. All the sons share in the joint heritage, which may remain undivided for years until they have established families whose diverse interests make parceling desirable. The widow and unmarried daughters share at least in the use of the land, but they cannot be said to have title to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If the widow re-marries too soon, her interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. In the absence of direct heirs, i.e., sons or their male descendants, unmarried daughters, or widow, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male heirs. Evidently daughters retain some right to share the use of their parents' land even after they marry, since a portion is often set aside for them to plant for the support of their children. Such land normally reverts to their fathers' families. Divorced and widowed women have at all times the privilege of falling back on the parental lands for support. 428 [562] [589] [736]

[1] Cushing, (a), 374; compare Zuñi sand-mound boundaries (Cushing, (d), 152) and Navaho fences of brush (Stephen, (b), 354).

642 In 1939 the Havasupai tribe voted to adopt a constitution and bylaws which were drawn up legally in a form suggested by the Office of Indian Affairs. Under provision of the constitution, a tribal council replaced the [624] former system of chieftainships. The tribal council consists of three hereditary chiefs who serve as permanent members and four councilmen elected for terms of two years. One of the elected councilmen acts as chairman.

Aboriginal Units

361 In aboriginal days of hunting, gathering, and farming, families camped 621 and moved about individually, either in nuclear or small extended family bands. Composition of a camping unit was subject to frequent change.

The Havasupai tribe was divided into two local groups, one occupying the western portion and the other the eastern portion of the plateau area. Each of the two local groups included a number of nuclear and extended families loosely associated in seminomadic conformity to the nature of their environment. These eastern and western divisions of the Havasupai tribe were further subdivided into half a dozen or more small bands, each associated with a specific locality. Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes, "I received no hint whatever of an eastern and western grouping while on the plateau. Yet it might be the same sort of informalized grouping of neighbors which I observed on the dance ground described in Havasupai Ethnography, 213."

591 Traditionally, the Havasupai family is an extended kinship unit built upon patrilocal residence. In recent years, however, comparatively few ● 592 family residence groups of this type have maintained stability. Customary matrilocal residence during the first year or two of marriage, or until the birth of a child, may or may not be observed, depending largely on personal preference or other circumstances.

592 Extended or nuclear family or camp groups tend to cluster about a woman who serves as cook. Composition of family units or camp groups is [562] constantly changing as nuclear families merge into extended families or as nuclear families separate from larger groups. Although patrilocal and [591] temporary matrilocal residence still are in limited practice and are the cultural ideal, a tendency exists toward establishment of separate residence by [177] nuclear family units. This may be the result of white influences combined with the exigencies of employment in the present economy.

592 Formerly, economic activities were organized primarily within an extended family unit sharing a common camp residence. However, under 596 modified economic conditions now prevailing, family cooperation and participation of all family members in the task of getting enough to eat is not the critical factor it once was.

first humorous name customarily was given when a child was three or four years old. This first name sometimes stayed with a woman throughout her lifetime, but a man received a new one when he married. This name, also of a humorous connotation, derived from an incident occurring during courtship or early marriage, often is bestowed by the father-in-law. 551 553

In former times, a stranger's name was not asked; he would reveal it when he wished to do so. The Havasupai say they aren't embarrassed about telling their names, but some of them show embarrassment or avoid response when an Anglo-American asks their Indian name, especially the joking name. The formal name customarily was used only by related persons, or by people who were close friends. If a stranger used it, its owner "didn't feel right about it." The joking name is freely used by those who know it. 551 576

Today, an Anglo-American name, chosen by the parents when a baby is born or soon after, is used more frequently than is the Havasupai term, even when the native language is being spoken. A few adults have no Havasupai names. 551

Translations of some women's names and descriptions of their derivation depict situations which inspired them. One married woman is called Burning-a-bird, because in childhood she threw her toy bird into the cooking fire. Another woman's name means Pulling-watermelons-off-the-vine, because when she was little she picked a boxful of small, green watermelons. A woman called Soapweed-pear-fruit was given this name by an old man who was amused when her parents tied a cowbell around her neck so she could be found easily if she wandered away while they were picking soapweed pears. A woman who was called Little-one during childhood, was renamed White-person-talking after her return from boarding school, because she spoke only English to those Havasupai who could understand it. An old woman recently deceased was named Pulling-a-rope because in her youth she was a good horseback rider and calf roper. One name, Long-tailed-lizard, was given to a girl who remarked (half in jest and half in objection) that after marriage she would have to wear long dresses like the lizard. [291] [885]

Children in the Social Group

The Social Group

The first child of a couple customarily is born into the household of his maternal grandparents, but the infant and his parents may move to the household of his paternal grandparents within a short time after his birth. 591

From the beginning of his life, an infant is present in the family circle rather than being isolated from it. In former times, the relatives with whom a child shared a common residence, or camp, in addition to his 592

592 father, mother, and siblings, included one or both of his paternal grandparents. It might also include paternal uncles, together with their wives and children, and unmarried paternal uncles and aunts. Occasionally, there might be attached to the household other relatives of the child's father, such as a widowed sister and her children, a widowed brother and his children, a divorced brother or sister with or without children, an illegitimate or orphaned niece or nephew, or a sibling of the child's father's parents or grandparents. Despite the range of possibilities in kinship associations in an extended family sharing a common residence, the average number of persons included in a camp 35 years ago was 4.2 individuals (Spier 1928, 210). The composition of the household might include any combination of relatives listed in the foregoing description. The number of persons living in a reservation household in 1951 varied from a mean of 4.9 in July to a mean of 3.7 in December. The largest unit living as one household included 17 individuals, while two households were occupied by lone widowers.

5714 5793 602 621 In former times, during plateau residence, a child may have had less contact with those relatives who did not belong to his residence group than he has today within the confines of the canyon. But there were even then frequent periods of visiting between related families. Tribal members gathered for dances during the planting and harvesting seasons. Related families ordinarily met for the observance of such rituals as those accompanying birth or death of kinsmen. The small size of the community in Cataract Canyon, after the Havasupai settled more permanently there, brought about an extremely close association between a child and those relatives who did not belong to his camp residence group. All families in the canyon are fairly close neighbors, and children, from an early age, are free to visit about at the homes of relatives and friends.

Kinship

602 603 [591] [848] [591] An individual professes an equal regard for his paternal and maternal grandparents, but it is frequently confessed that a closer bond is shared with those grandparents who were members of his childhood residence group. Although residence usually was patrilocal, this was never an inflexible rule, and today there is a trend for young couples to set up individual camps within a few years after marriage, especially if the husband seeks employment outside the canyon. An illegitimate child, or an orphaned child, is almost always the ward of, or in the residence group of, his maternal grandparents for a part of his life, if they are living. Thus, a child reared by his parents is likely to be more closely associated with his paternal grandparents, whereas a child who lives apart from parents, or who survives them, is likely to be more closely associated with his maternal grandparents. In accordance with the ideal cultural norms, the paternal grandmother is the one with whom a child resides, whereas the maternal grandmother has the prerogative of performing certain roles in connection with the birth of a child, depending upon the circumstances existing in a particular situation.

may not object to doing their own cooking and other camp work, although several of them frequently eat with other families.

Despite the excess of men in the older age categories and the resulting competition for marriageable women, a slightly greater number of women than men are married to members of other tribes. At the present time 13 women and 10 men are married intertribally. These 23 individuals are rather evenly distributed in all age brackets from 20 to 80.

Factors which do not prevent individuals of either sex from marrying include rather extreme age differences, senior age of a prospective wife, a woman's illegitimate children, rather large numbers of children from previous marriages, and a reputation for unusually promiscuous behavior.

Residence After Marriage

The Havasupai formerly observed patrilocal residence, with temporary matrilocal residence which varied in length from a few days following marriage to one or more years. The latter was sometimes omitted altogether or became permanent. If marriage occurred during canyon residence, a couple was likely to reside with the groom's family to be near his fields, or if they had observed matrilocal residence on the plateau for only a brief period, they might live patrilocally in the canyon and resume matrilocal residence on return to the plateau at the end of the farming season. Exceptions to patrilocal canyon residence occurred if a husband's family needed his help less than did that of his wife. Matrilocal residence normally continued for a year or two, or until one or two children had been born, in the latter event, perhaps three or four years. Residence rules were flexible enough so that each couple could adapt to immediate exigencies or permanent circumstances involving themselves or their parental households.

While patrilocal residence is still predominant, only seven households presently include permanently patrilocal members, a total of 12 married sons being attached to these seven households. Among the 12 extended family residence groups, one includes three sons, two include two sons each, and nine include only one married son each. Three married men are permanently matrilocal, and a fourth was until he moved away from the reservation.

Living arrangements within the seven patrilocal camp groups vary considerably. In one example, three married sons and their aged mother occupy four houses closely grouped in a common camp area. Each nuclear family maintains an individual household, the four women each cooking separately. However, when the youngest son married in 1950, he and his wife, omitting matrilocal residence, shared his mother's hogan until he had completed his house. (The bride's mother is deceased, and her father and stepmother reside in Supai only in summer.) Two or more of the nuclear

families now and then share a meal, and since the female head of this extended family has become less active with age, she more frequently takes meals in one of the other households. 596 592 594

Another extended family has two patrilocal sons, but a third son, after a few weeks of patrilocal residence, changed to permanent matrilocal residence. His wife disliked living with his family, possibly, in part, because the camp group was already very large. A factor favoring the choice of matrilocal residence in this instance was the absence of a son in the wife's family. Also, in the patrilocal household, the married sons are dependents within the larger unit, whereas in the matrilocal household in this instance, the couple which changed from patrilocal residence occupies separate sleeping quarters and is more independent economically. 591 592

Among the patrilocal households including one son each, some form one household unit while others have individual houses and live separately.

Two households are matrilocal for obvious reasons. The son-in-law, in one instance, is a Walapai who is unwelcome on his own reservation but who gets along well with his wife's family and tribe. The other son-in-law, married to an only child, is himself an orphan, and his grandparents, with whom he formerly lived, have an overly crowded household.

Patrilineal inheritance tends to obscure a present trend away from patrilocal residence, the inheritance system drawing sons to their father's land when the parents are too old to work. In this circumstance, a married son farms and controls the family land. Nominally, he is living patrilocally, because his parents are considered the land owners until their death, but in reality, such a son returns from residence and employment elsewhere to care for his dependent parents and to protect his interest in the land which will constitute the major sum of his inheritance. 591 428

A trend over the last few years toward temporary or permanent residence outside Cataract Canyon for economic reasons has drained the reservation of many young men who otherwise would have inherited land or would have been residing patrilocally there.

Table 2 shows that family heads occupying land in Cataract Canyon include the older tribal members, while younger family heads have settled off the reservation. With only one exception, male family heads living on the reservation are over 50 years of age. Fifteen other married men, nominal residents of the reservation, are younger than 45. However, most, or perhaps all, of these 15 men seek periodic employment off the reservation. Among the male family heads residing off the reservation, only five are older than 55. The families living outside Cataract Canyon, of course, usually live in nuclear family units. The effects of acculturation and the importance of money in their economy make it very unlikely that more than [594]

175 648 boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1902 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

439 For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

262 The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red spotted bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. [175] Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, [177] who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 233 1857. Meat in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

592 The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by blood ties. This grouping is based on, or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand [428] and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several [59] generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the progeny are regarded as a distinct [59] unit. Some young couples build a home soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a home of their own.

428 Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot [763] lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

423 When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

422 A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the [422 settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in 251] a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-